



King's Research Portal

DOI:

[10.1080/14753820.2016.1219526](https://doi.org/10.1080/14753820.2016.1219526)

Document Version

Peer reviewed version

[Link to publication record in King's Research Portal](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

Fouto, C., & Weiss, J. (2016). Reimagining Imperialism in Faria e Sousa's *Lusíadas comentadas*. *BULLETIN OF SPANISH STUDIES*, 93(7-8), 1243-1270. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14753820.2016.1219526>

Citing this paper

Please note that where the full-text provided on King's Research Portal is the Author Accepted Manuscript or Post-Print version this may differ from the final Published version. If citing, it is advised that you check and use the publisher's definitive version for pagination, volume/issue, and date of publication details. And where the final published version is provided on the Research Portal, if citing you are again advised to check the publisher's website for any subsequent corrections.

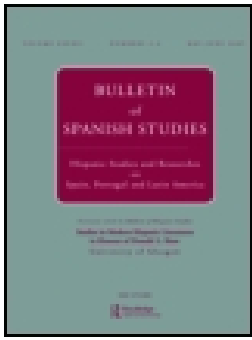
General rights

Copyright and moral rights for the publications made accessible in the Research Portal are retained by the authors and/or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing publications that users recognize and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

- Users may download and print one copy of any publication from the Research Portal for the purpose of private study or research.
- You may not further distribute the material or use it for any profit-making activity or commercial gain
- You may freely distribute the URL identifying the publication in the Research Portal

Take down policy

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact librarypure@kcl.ac.uk providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.



Bulletin of Spanish Studies

Hispanic Studies and Researches on Spain, Portugal and Latin America

ISSN: 1475-3820 (Print) 1478-3428 (Online) Journal homepage: <http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/cbhs20>

Reimagining Imperialism in Faria e Sousa's Lusíadas comentadas

Catarina Fouto & Julian Weiss

To cite this article: Catarina Fouto & Julian Weiss (2016): Reimagining Imperialism in Faria e Sousa's Lusíadas comentadas, Bulletin of Spanish Studies, DOI: [10.1080/14753820.2016.1219526](https://doi.org/10.1080/14753820.2016.1219526)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14753820.2016.1219526>



Published online: 25 Aug 2016.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)

Reimagining Imperialism in Faria e Sousa's *Lusíadas comentadas*

CATARINA FOUTO & JULIAN WEISS

King's College London

I Canonizing Camões

When the Portuguese Manuel de Faria e Sousa published his monumental commentary to *The Lusíads* in 1639, in Madrid, he was not the first commentator of this epic, originally published in 1572, in Lisbon. Earlier commentaries and translations illustrate how Camões' celebration of Portuguese history and imperial expansion became part of a broad political, diplomatic and juridical front. The poem was caught up in the attempts of Philip II and his successors to legitimize the annexation of the Portuguese Crown before a wider Spanish-speaking international audience and to seduce the Portuguese political and cultural elites.¹ In 2011, research into these Early Modern strategies was significantly advanced by Laura Bass, who contextualized the *Lusíadas comentadas* in the light of attempts by Juan López de Vicuña, José Pellicer and others to canonize Góngora as the 'Homero español' and as the 'Príncipe de los poetas líricos de España'.²

1 See Eugenio Asensio, *Estudios portugueses* (Paris: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1974), 303–24; Fernando Bouza Álvarez, *Portugal en la monarquía hispánica (1580–1640): Felipe II, las cortes de Tomar y la génesis del Portugal católico* (Madrid: Univ. Complutense, 1987); also Fernando Bouza Álvarez, *Felipe II y el Portugal 'dos povos': imágenes de esperanza y revuelta*, pról. de Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro (Valladolid: Univ. de Valladolid, 2010).

2 Laura R. Bass, 'Poética, imperio y la idea de España en época de Olivares: las *Lusíadas comentadas* de Manuel de Faria e Sousa', in *Poder y saber: bibliotecas y bibliofilia en la época del conde-duque de Olivares*, ed. Oliver Noble Wood, Jeremy Roe & Jeremy Lawrance, con un ensayo de Sir John Elliott (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2011), 183–205. For concise introductions to Faria e Sousa, see Hélio Alves, 'Faria e Sousa, Manuel de', in *Dicionário de Luis de Camões*, ed. Vitor Aguiar e Silva (Lisboa: Caminho, 2011), 368–78; and Edward Glaser's introduction to *The 'Fortuna' of Manuel de Faria e Sousa: An Autobiography*, intro., ed. & notes by Edward Glaser (Münster: Aschendorff, 1975), 6–122.

Drawing on the book's patronage, printing, iconography and language politics, Bass demonstrates that there is no contradiction between the commentator's desire to promote Portuguese language and history and his use of Castilian for his exposition. While Faria e Sousa certainly resists Castile's cultural supremacy at the centre of the Habsburg empire, he does not attempt to displace it. Rather, he adopts a more pluralistic approach: a composite monarchy has a composite culture, in a context in which 'las nociones de patria y nación eran más flexibles de lo que cabría suponer, y donde la misma idea de España no estaba nada definida'.³ We shall return to some of Bass' other observations throughout this essay, but her general conclusions are also compatible with the more recent work of Miguel Martínez, who argues that translations of *The Lusíads* in Early Modern Europe can be understood only when we acknowledge the 'complexity of its transnational circulation and the historical situatedness of the conflicts over its meaning and ownership'.⁴

Bass and Martínez alert us to the complexities and tensions inherent in the desire to appropriate the poem and exploit its cultural capital. Their general arguments may be illustrated by the two Castilian translations that appeared in 1580, the year of the annexation of Portugal by the Spanish Crown. We shall have more to say about these translations later, but for the moment it is enough to point out that while both promote the cultural prestige of the new dual monarchy, they are dedicated to different factions of Philip's court and possess different cultural and political alignments and emphases. One was authored by a Portuguese, Bento Caldeira, the other by a Spaniard, Luis Gómez de Tapia. Bento's patron was the Castilian Hernando de Vega, acting President of the Consejo de la Hacienda and of the Inquisition, while Gómez de Tapia's translation was dedicated to the young Italian aristocrat Ascanio Colonna, future cardinal and bibliophile, who was at the time being educated at the Universities of Salamanca and Alcalá (1576–1586).⁵ Gómez de Tapia's translation, printed in Salamanca, included brief explanatory *anotaciones* at the end of each canto.⁶ It was validated by the eminent Salamancan scholar Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas, El Brocense, who boasted of the translation's power to reveal this hidden treasure to the many nations 'que de la lengua castellana se precian'

3 Bass, 'Poética, imperio y la idea de España', 184.

4 Miguel Martínez, 'A Poet of Our Own: The Struggle for *Os Lusíadas* in the Afterlife of Camões', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, 10:1 (2010), 71–94 (p. 87).

5 See Patrícia Marin Cepeda, *Cervantes y la Corte de Felipe II: escritores en el entorno del cardenal Ascanio Colonna (1560–1608)* (Madrid: Polifemo, 2015), 114–20.

6 *La Lusíada [...] traduzida en verso Castellano de Portugues, por el Maestro Luys Gomez de Tapia* (Salamanca: En casa de Ioan Perier, 1580). In quoting original editions we add accents, capitals and punctuation according to modern conventions, and lightly regularize orthographic variation (e.g. u/v).

(f. ¶5^r). This boast anticipates El Brocense's agenda when, in 1582, he edited and annotated the heroic *arte mayor* poem by Juan de Mena, *Laberinto de Fortuna* (1444). Acknowledging complaints that Mena's work is 'muy pesado y lleno de antiguallas', he seals its status as a national classic by countering that Mena wrote with 'sabor y elegancia' and that he was 'el primero que sepamos que aya ilustrado la lengua castellana'.⁷ Whereas Bento Caldeira's translation foregrounds *The Lusiads* as Portugal's gift to Castile, a model to be imitated, the paratexts of Tapia's version (which included the first published verses by the young Luis de Góngora), moves *The Lusiads* more firmly into the intellectual heartland of Castile, through its eulogy of Castilian and its dedication to a man who represents the prestigious cultural traffic between Spain and Italy.

Thus, when Faria e Sousa responds to the international praise that *The Lusiads* had attracted, his stance offers yet another example of the complexities underlying what Martínez called 'the conflicts over its meaning and ownership'.⁸ In part, these complexities relate to the author's disputed political allegiances. For Bass, while the *Lusiadas comentadas* illustrates the protean nature of contemporary notions of *patria* and *nación* it also bears the imprint of the author's allegiance to the Braganza dynasty that would soon rise to power. Jorge de Sena, picking up a theme that goes back to Faria e Sousa's own contemporaries, even calls him a double-agent.⁹ It is indeed important to note the ambiguities surrounding the Portuguese scholar. He spent much of his adult life in Spain; he treated Portuguese scholars, whom he regarded as his intellectual rivals, with contempt. In

7 Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas, ed., *Las obras del famoso poeta Juan de Mena* (Salamanca: Lucas de Junta, 1582), f. *5^{r-v}. For the most recent study of the canonization of Juan de Mena, with ample bibliography, see the introductory monograph to Hernán Núñez de Toledo, *Glosa a las 'Trezientas' del famoso poeta Juan de Mena*, ed. Julian Weiss & Antonio Cortijo Ocaña (Madrid: Polifemo, 2015), 33–169. For El Brocense's prologue to his annotated edition of Mena, see *Glosa*, pp. 1211–13. Mena's sixteenth-century reception is also the subject of various studies in *Juan de Mena: de letrado a poeta*, ed. Cristina Moya García (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2015).

8 See Martínez, 'A Poet of Our Own', 87.

9 See Bass, 'Poética, imperio y la idea de España', 198–99; Jorge de Sena, 'Introdução', in *Lusiadas [...] comentadas por Manuel de Faria e Sousa*, facsimile ed. (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional/Casa da Moeda, 1972), 9–56 (p. 16). Sena's hypothesis echoes the eulogy by Francisco Xavier Meneses, Count of Ericeira (1673–1743), who suggested that Faria e Sousa risked his life in Madrid between 1641 and 1649 in order to provide intelligence for John IV. The count's claim refuted contemporary accusations of treason, a concern that continued to exercise scholars throughout the nineteenth century (see Glaser, 'Introduction', in *The Fortuna of Manuel de Faria e Sousa*, ed. Glaser, 8–10 and 12–13). While Glaser does not commit himself on 'the thorny problem of Faria e Sousa's patriotism' (10), he points out his 'inconsistent' attitudes towards the uprising of 1640 (23–24), noting that the *Fortuna* was, in part, an attempt to counter criticism that he did not openly support the Portuguese cause (24–26).

turn, they denounced him to both the Spanish and the Portuguese Inquisition, on the grounds that his allegorical reading of *The Lusíads* undermined Christian faith.¹⁰ Yet, amongst those who protected him during his encounter with the Inquisition are leading names in the 1640 Portuguese coup and the Restoration period (1640–1668). Even so, in this essay we will be adopting a different approach to the duality, ambivalence and boundary crossings that we believe are such a feature of Faria e Sousa's commentary. Put simply, Faria e Sousa's commentary is certainly imbued with a discourse that promotes Early Modern *imperium*, but at the same time it also resists the cultural colonization of Portugal by Castile. Political and literary imperialism are not coterminous.

The disjunction between the two forms of dominion manifests itself as an anxiety over the potential shapelessness of empire, whose protean monstrosity threatens to overwhelm the creative imagination and swallow up the irreducible uniqueness of those who are its subjects and its agents. This disjunction is also apparent in the unresolved tension between two obsessions: on the one hand, the impulse to categorize, to define, to label, to list, and in general to provide readers with a map of the poem and the commentary as stable, well-proportioned constructs; on the other, a fascination with metamorphosis, with ideas and actions that exceed and challenge (both positively and negatively) established political or aesthetic categories. To explore this hypothesis, we mine Faria e Sousa's copious paratexts for his ideas on language and the duties of the commentator, and examine the imperialist discourse of the Adamastor episode in canto V. Faria e Sousa fashions his identity as a literary 'pioneer' using tropes of discovery, conquest and colonization. This is not merely self-serving rhetoric; it is part of a broader cultural strategy to consecrate *The Lusíads* as a Christian epic and to ensure that Portuguese language and history are recognized as key components of the Habsburg empire. As we shall see, the enterprise is not without its contradictions.

II Language and Empire

Camões' reputation in Spain is not reflected solely in the Spanish translations published in 1580.¹¹ In 1581, Faria e Sousa claims in his preface, Philip II sent for Camões on arrival in Lisbon, eager to meet the Portuguese poet, only to discover that he had already died.¹² Even Philip IV himself possessed

10 Glaser, 'Introduction', in *The 'Fortuna' of Manuel de Faria e Sousa*, ed. Glaser, 84–87.

11 See Vítor Aguiar e Silva, *A lira dourada e a tuba canora: novos ensaios camonianos* (Lisboa: Cotovia, 2008), 91–123.

12 *Lusiádas [...]* comentadas por Manuel de Faria i Sousa, etc., 4 vols [printed in 2] (Madrid: Juan Sánchez, a costa de Pedro Coello, 1639–1640); for the facsimile edition, see above n. 9. The poem and commentary are printed in two numbered columns, further divided

Portuguese copies of Camões' epic and lyric verse in the Biblioteca de la Torre Alta where he housed a significant library.¹³ Faria e Sousa responds to this Spanish interest, which he seems to have interpreted as an act of cultural appropriation, with a compromise. He presents the poem in its original Portuguese accompanied by a paraphrase and commentary in Castilian. He concludes his *Prólogo* by challenging the need for Castilian translations, declaring, with unconcealed irony, that they are made redundant by the similarities between the two languages. He defends his decision by observing that it was common practice for the exegete to employ a different language than the poet, while adding that at times this was merely a hollow display of erudition:

Muchos se muestran doctos en lenguas estrañas sin saber las de su provincia, ni aun la que es tan parecida a la castellana como la portuguesa, siendo cierto que para ellos se tiene esta convertido en griego, al paso que nos quieren dar a entender que el griego se tiene convertido en ellos. (I: 14A)

His sarcastic aside that Portuguese appears as strange as Greek to those who lay claim to mastery of that classical language is a broad hint that the Castilian intelligentsia's inability to comprehend written Portuguese was nothing more than a deliberate pose.

Linguistic similarities are, in fact, the explicit reason why Pedro Laínez (poet and friend of Cervantes), praises the first Spanish translation of 1580, which had been authored by the Portuguese named Bento Caldeira:

No se le [Caldeira] deben pequeñas gracias: antes me parece digno de levantados loores, considerando lo que ha trabajado por comunicarnos el provecho que de entenderla [*La Lusíada*] y de imitarla se nos sigue. *No querría que a nadie le pareciesse tan fácil el traduzir de una lengua que tan poco difiere de la castellana como la portuguesa*, que por estar en este engaño estíbase en menos el trabajo que en esta traducción tan bien hecha ha tenido Benito Caldera.¹⁴

by page sections (A–E), and distributed over four volumes printed as two. The columns in each volume are separately numbered. Except where otherwise noted, we cite by volume, column number, page section and, where relevant, by canto; for this reference see the 'Dedicatoria al Rey Nuestro Señor', ff. †3^{r-v}.

13 Fernando Bouza Álvarez, 'Semblanza y aficiones del monarca: música, astros, libros y bufones', in *Felipe IV: el hombre y el reinado*, ed. José Alcalá-Zamora (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 2005), 27–44 (pp. 39–40).

14 *Los Lusíadas de Luys de Camões traduzidos en octaua rima castellana por Benito Caldera* (Alcalá de Henares: Juan Gracián, 1580), f. A5^r; emphasis added.

Laínez's insistence that the resemblance between the two languages is deceptive ('un engaño') merely draws attention to their undeniably close relationship. In his attempt to defend Caldeira, Laínez implicitly acknowledges that any literate Spanish speaker would be able to read the original, and that, therefore, the Spanish translation is not motivated primarily by linguistic obstacles. The two benefits of translation are comprehension ('entenderla') and imitation ('imitarla'). Of the two, the second is ideologically fraught, since *imitatio* could entail agonistic emulation, grafting a Portuguese poem onto Castilian rootstock, to produce works that surpass the original.

The threat of appropriation is more explicit in the paratexts that accompany the second translation of 1580, by Luis Gómez de Tapia, whose annotated version was introduced by El Brocense. Although raised and educated in Portugal, the Salamancan Humanist undermines Portuguese as a language of power and culture:

Tal tesoro como este no era razón que en sola su lengua se leyesse, y así con mucha razón se deven dar gracias a quien ha querido tomar trabajo de comunicarlo a su lengua castellana, y *por consiguiente a la misma portuguesa*, a toda Italia, y a las demás naciones, que son muchas, que de la lengua castellana se precian. (f. ¶5^r; our emphasis)

The suggestion that the translation returns the poem to its own people, effectively subsumes Portuguese within the linguistic universe of Castilian, now a truly imperial idiom in administrative, economic and diplomatic circles; the trope of 'hidden treasure' is predicated on the assumption that the epic was unknown to European elites because it was composed in Portuguese.¹⁵ It is well known that sixteenth-century Portuguese elites were bilingual and that most Portuguese writers comfortably employed Castilian (the sharing of literary language and convention as well as the to and fro of texts between the two countries date back centuries).¹⁶ During the dual monarchy, however, this relationship was not symmetrical: few Spaniards spoke or wrote Portuguese fluently. The insistence on the unintelligibility of (written) Portuguese is obviously ideologically charged. While Philip II had agreed at the *cortes* of Tomar that Portuguese would continue for official purposes, including correspondence with Madrid—a

15 Martínez, 'A Poet of Our Own', 74–76.

16 On bilingualism, see: Luis Adão da Fonseca, 'Política e cultura nas relações luso-castelhanas no séc. XV', *Península: Revista do Instituto de Estudos Ibéricos da Faculdade de Letras do Porto*, 0 (2003), 53–61; Ana Isabel Buescu, 'Aspectos do bilinguismo Português-Castelhano na época moderna', *Hispania* (Spain), 64:216 (2004), 13–38; and Ana Maria Garcia Martin, 'Bilinguismo literário Luso-Castelhano no tempo de Camões', *Dicionário de Luis de Camões*, ed. Vitor Aguiar e Silva (Lisboa: Caminho, 2011), 75–80.

politically significant gesture—linguistic equality in the political domain is quite different from linguistic hierarchy in the cultural domain.¹⁷

The emerging view that Portuguese was a culturally diminished language is clearly evident in El Brocense's preface to Gómez de Tapia's translation, which draws attention to the asymmetry between the quality of the poet and the language of his verse:

Tal me parece a mí Luys de Camões Lusitano, cuyo subtil ingenio, doctrina entera, cognición de lenguas, y delicada vena, muestran claramente no faltar nada para la perfección de tan alto nombre, y tanto más lo muestra quanto la lengua suya natural parece contrastar para la perfección del verso. (f. ¶5^r)

We are left to infer that this perfection will be achieved only by translating the poem into Spanish. Luis de Góngora himself opens his *canción* addressed to Gómez de Tapia with the exhortation:

Suene la trompa bélica
del castellano cálamo
dándole *lustre* y *ser* a las *Lusiadas*. (f. ¶¶1^v)

Employing the fashionable *sdrucchioli*, Góngora rewrites the Petrarchan *canzone* to suit his epic theme.¹⁸ While he alludes to the Lusitanian 'pechos heróicos' (prophetically celebrated in *The Lusiads*, X.12–47), he declares that it is thanks only to the martial tones of the 'Castilian quill' that *The Lusiads* will acquire its 'lustre', understood as both 'poetic brilliance' and 'public esteem': yet further evidence of Spanish condescension towards Portuguese as a language of literary expression.¹⁹ Moreover, Góngora's choice of 'ser' reinforces the poem's new identity as a classic of the *monarquía española*, now to be heard all over the world thanks to Castilian, a language apt for the lofty style of epic poetry as exemplified by Góngora's poem itself. In the same year, Fernando de Herrera was also promoting the pomp and majesty of Spanish at the start of his *Anotaciones* on Garcilaso.²⁰

17 Fernando Bouza Álvarez, '1640 perante o Estatuto de Tomar: Memória e Juízo de Portugal dos Filipes', *Penélope*, 9/10 (1993), 17–27. See also Pilar Vásquez Cuesta, who attributes the marginalization of Portuguese, even within Portuguese borders, to 'diglossia', whereby Castilian became the authoritative language of the courtly elites: *A língua e a cultura portuguesas no tempo dos Filipes* (Mem-Martins: Publicações Europa-América, 1988).

18 See José María Micó, 'Góngora a los diecinueve años: modelo y significación de la "Canción Esdrújula"', *Criticón*, 49 (1990), 21–30, and his *La fragua de las 'Soledades': ensayos sobre Góngora* (Barcelona: Sirmio, 1990), 13–32.

19 For the figurative meaning of *lustre*, see *Diccionario de Autoridades* (s.v.): 'metaphóricamente significa esplendor, aplauso y estimación'.

20 Herrera's comparison between 'la lengua toscana' and 'español' is well known, and his use of the latter term is symptomatic of the consolidation of Castilian as an imperial language.

Miguel Martínez argues that these Spanish translations were designed to neutralize the appropriation of the epic for autonomist purposes.²¹ However, the publication history of *The Lusiads* in Portugal (with and without commentaries) may prove otherwise.²² Between 1580 and 1640 *The Lusiads* were published in Portuguese ten times. It is a singular fact that the greatest editorial activity coincides with the times of greatest political instability in the Habsburg empire: four times between 1607 and 1613 in the aftermath of a disastrous military campaign against the Dutch and Philip III's bankruptcy (1607, 1609, 1612, 1613), with another peak in 1626 during the Anglo-Spanish War (1625–30), and in the years in which defeats were inflicted by the armies of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden (1631 and 1633).²³ These editions reveal the Portuguese response to the transnational struggle over the poem's ownership and meaning initiated by the Spanish translations. In the prologue to the 1612 Lisbon edition, the editor Domingos Fernandes addresses the Archbishop of Lisbon, Rodrigo da Cunha, one of the main supporters of the 1640 coup, and declares how other nations have appropriated Camões via translation. *The Lusiads*, he complains, are

[...] tão de cantados pelo mundo, que as mais illustres provincias d'elle não se contentarão com menos que approprialo a sy, o melhor que a variedade de suas linguas lhe dava faculdade, como se tem visto em tres traduções, que d'elles se fezerão: castelhanas, em hua franceses, & em outra italiana, & em outra, que na lingua latina ficou imperfeyta.²⁴

Fernandes clearly thinks that translators cannot capture the original's essential qualities. Their imperfect attempts are merely ploys devised by Fame to extend the reach of Camões' renown and poetic intellect: 'Artifício

See his *Anotaciones a la poesía de Garcilaso*, ed., con intro., de Inoria Pepe & José María Reyes (Madrid: Castalia, 2001), 60–63, 202–03, 275–78.

21 Martínez, 'A Poet of Our Own', 76.

22 Vanda Anastácio, 'Leituras potencialmente perigosas: reflexões sobre as traduções castelhanas de *Os Lusíadas* no tempo da União Ibérica', *Revista Camoniana*, 15 (2004), 159–78.

23 The print history of *The Lusiads* during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has yet to be comprehensively analysed. For specific (groups of) editions and the agents behind their publication, censorship and commentaries, see: Nelson Rolando Monteiro, *As edições de 'Os Lusíadas': pesquisa e análise* (Rio de Janeiro: OCD, 1979); Sheila Moura Hue, 'Os *Lusíadas* comentados: leitores e leituras em 1584, 1591 e 1613', *Santa Barbara Portuguese Studies*, 7 (2003), 117–32; Sheila Moura Hue, 'Domingos Fernandes e as peripécias de um editor camoniano', *Floema*, 7:7 (2010), 101–21; Cleonice Berardinelli, 'De censores e censura', in her *Estudos camonianos: nova edição revista e ampliada* (Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, 2000), 109–22; Artur Anselmo, 'Camões e a censura inquisitorial', *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Português*, 16 (1981), 513–68.

24 Luís de Camões, *Os Lusíadas de Luís de Camões, príncipe da poesia heroyca* (Lisboa: Vicente Álvares, 1612), f. 1^{r-v}.

grande, que a verdadeyra fama inventou, para com mais facilidade divulgar pelo mundo a honra & nome d'este illustre entendimento portugues' (f. 1^v).

Thus, although the Spanish translations may have served Philip II's imperialist agenda in the short term, they also disseminated throughout the Habsburg Empire a text that would become a symbol of Portuguese autonomy. Soon, the disputes which brought Britain, France and the Habsburgs into conflict contributed to *The Lusíads'* European dissemination.²⁵ Paradoxically, it was these Spanish translations that helped publicize the Portuguese achievements in a political context increasingly hostile to Spanish imperialist interests.

The 1613 Lisbon edition heralds a new era in the publication of *The Lusíads*. It included a posthumous commentary by Manuel Correia, printed alongside a biography of Camões written by the editor Pedro Mariz.²⁶ Bolstering his authority with his friendship with Camões, Correia directs his main criticism at previous commentators, 'os quais sem lume nas letras humanas, lhe poem anotações, que servem mais de o escurecer, e desonrar, pois são contra o sentido do poeta, e verdade das histórias e poesia' (f. ¶3^v). Correia's explicit targets were the anonymous annotated editions of Lisbon 1584 and 1591.²⁷ However, he probably also had in mind Gómez de Tapia's brief geographical, mythological and historical annotations, appended at the end of each canto. Since Politian, this economical and elegant style of literary annotation had eclipsed in prestige the more cumbersome format of commentary.²⁸ As if scoffing at the thought that such glosses could do

25 After 1580 a third Spanish translation was published in 1591, in Madrid, by the Portuguese Henrique Garcês, resident in Peru. Richard Fanshawe's English version appeared in 1655 and 1664. The Genoese consul Carlo Antonio Paggi published his Italian one in Lisbon in 1658 and 1659. Four Latin versions survive, by: Tomé de Faria, Bishop of Targa (1622), Friar André Baião (1625), Santo Agostinho Macedo (completed in France around 1650 but unpublished) and Sir Richard Fanshawe (a manuscript fragment, 1663). See Martínez, 'A Poet of Our Own'; Catarina Fouto, 'The Politics of Translation: *The Lusíads* and European Diplomacy (1580–1664)', in *Cultures of Diplomacy and Literary Writing in the Early Modern World: New Approaches*, ed. Joanna Craigwood & Tracey Sowerby (forthcoming); and two essays by Thomas Earle, 'As traduções da obra camoniana para Inglês existentes na Biblioteca de D. Manuel II', and 'As traduções da poesia de Camões para Latim existentes na Biblioteca de D. Manuel II', both in *Camões nos prelos de Portugal e da Europa*, ed. José Augusto Cardoso Bernardes, 2 vols (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 2015), I, 165–74 & I, 157–64.

26 *Os Lusíadas do Grande Luis de Camoens* (Lisboa: Pedro Crasbeeck, 1613). Critics agree that Mariz intervened in both Correia's liminary material and in the text of the commentary, but disagree over the extent. On Correia, Mariz and this 1613 edition, see Isabel Almeida's two entries in the *Dicionário de Camões*: 'Correia, Manuel', 294–98, and 'Mariz, Pedro de', 572–77; Moura Hue, 'Domingos Fernandes'.

27 See Almeida, 'Correia, Manuel', 296.

28 Anthony Grafton, *The Traditions of Scholarship in an Age of Science, 1450–1800* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard U. P., 1991), 25–26, 48–54. In 1582, El Brocense's brief notes on Mena rendered obsolete Núñez's mammoth *Glosa*.

justice to the weight and riches of Camões' epic achievement, Correia surrounds each stanza with detailed commentary, clarifying allusions, explaining content, and judging literary merit. Still, Manuel Correia's commentary is nothing compared to Faria e Sousa's four-volume exegesis, which is monumental in intent, scope, and, as Bass observes, in folio format, typically reserved for theological and historiographical works.²⁹ He strives to outdo Correia in other respects too: in his appendix of manuscript variants, he castigates his reckless editorial interventions and his attempts to improve the text by removing 'verso agudo' or rewriting passages to highlight colonial rivalries between Portugal and Castile that occurred later than the events described in the poem (II: 658CE). In his memoirs, he would later recall his youthful disappointment at Correia's trivial interpretation.³⁰

In displacing Correia, Faria e Sousa also implicitly targets his predecessors, countering the cultural prejudices espoused by El Brocense and others. He dispatches previous translations as 'tan malas todas, que exceden la infelicidad de toda traducción que se haze de escritura en verso' (*Advertencias*, f. ††6^v). He publishes the poem in the original so that people can see how groundless is the complaint that 'se les haze difícil nuestra lengua, i con que la quieren privar de la capacidad de escribirse en ella todo assumpto grave, i de la estimación que realmente se le deve' (f. ††6^v). However, his reasoning goes beyond challenging the assumed inferiority of Portuguese; it is also predicated on philological principles:

El mayor servicio que hago a los deseosos de la perfección del texto de un autor tan grande, es dársele impresso por el mismo original, conferido con dos manuscritos antiguos. (I: 14DE)

This statement, coupled with his censure of Correia, illustrates Faria e Sousa's conviction that the poem is worthy of the philological reconstruction traditionally reserved for the classics. What is more, as his critical apparatus demonstrates, comparing the manuscripts with the printed text allows unprecedented insight into Camões' creative process (see the table of 'lecciones varias' [II: 642–62]).

None the less, Faria e Sousa still employs Castilian for his commentary and paraphrases each stanza in that language. In doing so, he accepts that he needs to address an international audience if he is to consecrate Camões as 'el padre de la poesía de Europa después de griegos i latinos' (I: 32A). However, at the same time, his arguments and methodology implicitly denigrate the assumptions behind the Spanish translations, including Tapia's, which had been so praised by El Brocense. And the Spanish

29 Bass, 'Poética, imperio y la idea de España', 187–91.

30 Glaser, 'Introduction', in *The 'Fortuna' of Manuel de Faria e Sousa*, ed. Glaser, 82.

Humanist is also the target, we think, of Faria e Sousa's observations on the hegemony of Castilian in Spanish domains. There can be no doubt that Castilian enables him to turn *The Lusíads* into the preeminent epic of Spain under the dual monarchy: 'hago común para toda España el soberano fruto de tan sublime ingenio con exponerle en esta lengua' (I: 14D). That does not mean that Portuguese is sidelined: on the contrary, it is promoted. His Castilian paraphrase and commentary will facilitate 'a todos a entender esta lengua [Portuguese] con poco estudio' (I: 13C). Moreover, he then remarks that Castilian 'tuvo suerte (no sin méritos por cierto) de que fuesse mejor entendida en estos reynos, aunque si otra lo fuera no se usara menos' (I: 14D). This statement's phrasing and syntax are eloquent. Faria e Sousa recognizes, parenthetically, that Castilian merited its status as the most widely used 'lengua', only to add the significant rider that, even if other languages were more widely understood, Castilian 'no se usara menos'. Its dominance is not the consequence of its inherent qualities, but of its use as an instrument of political power.

This statement is symptomatic of the ambivalence surrounding Early Modern notions of language. In his recent book *Five Words*, Roland Greene analyses how the concept of language swings like a pendant between two poles: language as fixed, abstract system, and language as 'tongue', *lengua*, etc., which is characterized by everyday use, flux, transformation, human agency and creative power.³¹ Faria e Sousa moves back and forth between these two poles, as he endorses the status of Portuguese as a linguistic system and demonstrates what that system owes to the potent imagination of a single poet, capable of transforming inherited language into a flexible instrument of creative thought. This folding together of two concepts, distinct but inseparable, is played out on many other levels—social, cultural, aesthetic and political—, as Faria e Sousa oscillates between the relative claims of the unique and the collective, of creative freedom and the constraints of good judgment, of Portugal and the Habsburg monarchy, and, as we shall now see, *comento* and *comentado*.

III Epic Commentary

Discussing the book's material format, Bass describes how the portraits of poet and commentator lie side by side on the page (I, f. ††4^r), looking out at the reader from complementary angles.³² Faria e Sousa seems to morph

31 Roland Greene, *Five Words: Critical Semantics in the Age of Shakespeare and Cervantes* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2013), 41–73.

32 Bass, 'Poética, imperio y la idea de España', 188. Bass also quotes Fernando Bouza's suggestion that Faria e Sousa was attempting to 'parangonarse gráficamente con el mismo Luis de Camões'. See his *Corre manuscrito: una historia cultural del Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: 2001), 29.

into the poet he analyses, who, in his turn is a poetic version of the Portuguese explorers themselves. He repeatedly insists that he alone is the discoverer of *The Lusíads*' secret depths: 'Yo soy el primero que publico este poeta comentado en lo sustancial (siendo misterioso sobre todos) sin aver hallado luz que seguir ni estudiosos que me socorriessen' (I: 12C). In the Prologue's conclusion, he boasts that 'todos alaban en Castilla a Luys de Camões i [...] le entienden pocos' (I: 14A), before challenging readers to demonstrate that his predecessors managed to reveal 'algo de lo infinito recondito que descubro en todo el poema' (I: 14B). He is a self-sufficient explorer, 'porque si en algo he consultado algunos, no vine a hallar en ellos más que en mí'. Like Camões and, before him, Vasco da Gama, the commentator is a single-minded pioneer in a world of exotic and strange beauty: 'Al fin, assí solo, descubro en él pensamientos raros, imitaciones bellas i muchas, tanto en ellos como en la invención' (I: 12C). He insists on his own critical independence and wide personal reading: not for him the shortcuts taken by others: the 'Polianteas, índices o tablas' (I: 12D) that were such a vital tool in Early Modern scholarship.³³ Instead, he relies on his own industry and enterprise: 'a poder de aver leýdo todos los autores, citados a este fin con atención, estimando más los moderados bien reconocidos que los muchos citados sin ser vistos' (I: 12D).

It has to be said that Faria e Sousa's approach is far from unique. His scorn for second-hand citations derived from miscellanies, mythological dictionaries and indices echoes, for example, the scepticism expressed by Roger Ascham as early as 1563 towards '*Epitomes* and bookes of common places'; his preference for citing a moderate number of authors, thoroughly reconnoitred ('reconocidos'), stems ultimately from Seneca's distaste for aimless browsing. In spite of their long genealogy, Faria e Sousa's attitudes are entirely symptomatic of methodological trends in seventeenth-century scholarship.³⁴ As we shall see, moderation (exemplified here by the Senecan topos of *pauci autores*) is a theme that runs throughout this utterly immoderate commentary; nevertheless, the Portuguese commentator adapts these ideals to his own ends. For although the connection is not expressly made, diligent personal acquaintance with a moderate number of well-chosen texts also helps him to fashion the image of commentator as

33 See El Brocense's eulogy of Tapia's annotated Castilian translation. He writes that Tapia was intellectually equipped to 'hazer un comento mayor que el de Juan de Mena' [a jibe at Núñez's notoriously weighty tome]. 'Mas porque ha venido a su noticia que ay un diccionario poético que trata quién fue Phaetón, y su padre y madre, no ha querido embutir aquí fábulas ni orígenes de vocablos ni definiciones de amor [etc]' (f. ¶6^r).

34 On which see Iveta Nakládalová, *La lectura docta en la primera edad moderna (1450–1650)* (Madrid: Abada, 2013). For Ascham, see pp. 198–99; for Seneca, especially *Epistle* 45, pp. 37–39, with reference to Seneca's influence on the pedagogical treatise of Johann Heinrich Alsted, *Consiliarius academic et scholasticus* (1610).

discoverer. Seneca's critique of erratic browsing is predicated on the dual metaphors of reading as mental travel and digestion. The good reader assimilates or interiorizes the lessons garnered from reading, by journeying towards this goal along a single route (*itinerarium unicum*), avoiding the pleasurable distractions offered by literature's almost infinite multiplicity. Faria e Sousa needs to imagine himself not as an errant wanderer, but as a writer who has single-mindedly plotted the path of Camões' poem and charted the hidden depths of its soul (*alma*). Not for him Góngora's 'pasos de un peregrino [...] errante [...] en soledad confusa' (*Soledades*, ll. 1–3).³⁵

What Faria e Sousa actually means by a 'moderate' number of well-read texts is another matter. The 'Tabla de autores' (II: 663–70) lists alphabetically 'todos los autores (pues serán pocos, i por esso la tabla no [es] prolixa) que en estas notas van citados'; and he adds that they are included 'de necesidad forçosa, no de ostentación vana' (II: 665A). These 'pocos' amount to nearly 600 personally scrutinized authors, compiled from over 1,000 volumes.³⁶ The comments that frame the 'Tabla' pick up where the Prologue left off by attacking those who ostentatiously parade their second-hand erudition in 'tablas de autores', assembled from books that 'nunca llegaron a las manos de aquellos que los citan' (II: 663D). This fraudulent practice inhibits scholars who, like Faria e Sousa, have actually read the works they refer to, by making them refrain from revealing the full extent of their learning. Whether deliberately or not, the self-pitying rhetoric reinforces the complementary identities of poet and commentator, as men who have hidden depths and unique capacities not fully recognized in their own day.

The alienation that colours the pioneering achievements of poet and commentator emerges clearly in Faria e Sousa's account of Camões' poetic models and sources. His single-handed efforts in identifying these are no cause for celebration: 'Y desto no me di la norabuena sino el pésame al mundo i al poema, por lo que a falta de entendimiento nos quedará por entender' (I: 12C). His quest to discover the poem's literary genesis leads him to peruse 300 Italian authors and countless 'latinos clásicos'. The journey had its dead ends; but even though future readers may be able to complete the gaps, 'todavía me restará la gloria de averles mostrado la

35 For Seneca's *itinerarium unicum*, see Nakládalová, *La lectura docta*, 38–39; for the metaphor of immersion in the depths of a text, see pp. 61–64, 115–18. Idle curiosity and errant reading, a form of mental *fornicatio*, were common concerns among patristic and scholastic authors; see Mary J. Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric and the Making of Images, 400–1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge U. P., 1998), 82–83.

36 In his memoirs, he describes memorizing the entire *Lusiads*, then reading the classics in search of correspondences, which he then compiled in over 500 *cuadernillos* (Glaser, 'Introduction', in *The 'Fortuna' of Manuel de Faria e Sousa*, ed. Glaser, 83).

senda, i de que lo descubierto tiene fácil la continuación' (I: 13A). Unlike some, for whom commentary means the vain display of erudition, mostly other people's, he limits his exposition to uncovering ('des-cubrir') what he has found in the Poet: 'Adórnole con la erudición medida y con lugares de autores que merecen este nombre', not ballads or worthless rhymers (I: 13C). To the qualities of measured erudition, balance, and proportion he adds sobriety. He works with 'ajustado estudio i sin lascivia de ostentación' (I: 8C), regularly applying the language of lustful desire to the intellectual domain: 'Llenar planas con cosas violentas más me parece lascivia de un comentador que comento de un libro' (I: 6C).

This last quotation introduces another metaphor into his trope of textual discovery: violence. Although he frequently resorts to such images as 'las armas del examen', employed to lay siege to the text, he also insists that he has refrained from doing violence to the poem's meaning. This, he argues, is the principal duty of the commentator:

Al autor que se comenta se ha de dar el sentido que fuere más fácil, i esse será mejor que ningún otro por más delgado que sea, al punto que uviere algo de violento [...]. Confieso que en muchos expositores algunas alegorías son tan violentas que con causa escandalizan el oído de los que leen. (I: 9D & 10D)

The phrase 'violentar el texto' was common currency in the lexicon of Humanist textual critics, who laid claim to restraint and good judgment.³⁷ Faria e Sousa dwells at length on the abstruse and fanciful allegories fabricated by commentators of Virgil, Petrarch, Dante, Ariosto and Tasso (and even by poets themselves, who, like Dante and Mena, composed self-commentaries). Thus, 'por no incurrir en sospechas de traerla violenta' (I: 11C), his allegory follows the signs scattered throughout the poem by the poet himself: 'yo no hago más de añadir a sus palabras otras por más claridad, i de mostrarle con el dedo a quien viéndole no le mira, o mirándole no le vee' (I: 11E).

Thus, Faria e Sousa fashions a textual self-portrait that matches the complementary images of poet and commentator printed at the front of the book. He follows Camões' footsteps, colonizing and cultivating the poetic territory he opened up. As befits an epic poem, his own industry has also

37 Examples abound in Hernán Núñez's Mena commentary (see *Glosa a las 'Trezientas'*, ed. Weiss & Cortijo Ocaña, 73, 554, 600). Critical judgment (*iudicium*) concluded the conventional *enarratio poetarum*, following *lectio*, *enarratio*, and *emendatio*; see Felipe González Vega, '*Iudicium meum semper fuit*: cuestiones de poética en el comentario gramatical de Antonio de Nebrija (1444–1522)', in *Elementos de retórica y poética en la gramática y el comentario filológico: de Isidoro al tiempo de Nebrija*, ed. Juan Casas Rigall, *Revista de Poética Medieval*, 17 (2006), 299–334 (pp. 310, 333).

been epic—‘un invencible trabajo’ as Lope de Vega put it in his introductory eulogy—, a heroic struggle against all obstacles to ‘cultivar un aparato para este comento’, in order to ‘coger el fruto desta cultura’ (I: 3E). The text is his territory, whose wealth is a ‘cornucopia’, a ‘vega’ of extraordinary ‘fertilidad’. The title-page neatly summarizes the underlying principles of an exegetical approach based on mapping out the poem’s scope and staying resolutely within its boundaries: the commentary embraces world history and geography (‘i singularmente de España’), Catholic politics, copious morality and doctrine, biting satire, authentic and weighty poetry, ‘todo sin salir de la idea del poeta’ (f. †1^r). In comparison with other commentaries, both Latin and vernacular, Faria e Sousa’s desire for precision and detail, coupled with his urge to orient the reader with a general overview, using indices, cross references and lists, with each canto ranked according to its expressive power, borders on the obsessive. While Faria e Sousa does not explicitly use the trope of ‘map’ or ‘guide’, his work may be aptly labelled a ‘cartographic commentary’, and one that places his critical judgment at the centre, like Jerusalem in the old T/O *mappamundi*.

Discovering and cultivating *The Lusiads* becomes an act of self-realization or self-fulfilment. Although his preface draws on the commonplace notion of literature as recreation, in his hands the topos becomes literature as *re*-creation. He re-creates himself in and through the poet: ‘Assí puedo dezir que stoy agora viviendo de Luis de Camões i que él solo es mi mantenimiento’ (I: 4A). He then describes the material and intellectual obstacles he faced as he ‘entered’ the text, including his own mental disorientation: ‘Entro todavía con diversión de sentidos en lo que imaginé entrar con ellos juntos como pedía el empleo’ (I: 4C). Although initially distracted and unfocused, his encounter with the poem produces a therapeutic effect, enabling him to forget his cares and to assemble a ‘balanced commentary’ (‘un modo de comentar ajustado’ [col 4E]).

The phrase is telling. If *The Lusiads* is a microcosm of the world, since both are constituted by harmony and proportion, so Faria e Sousa devotes considerable effort to preempting accusations that his entrance into Camões’ poem has disrupted that harmony. Insisting that his commentary is not excessive or disproportionate, he assures readers that colleagues had been unable to remove a single element from his draft (I: 5E). ‘Comentar ajustado’ means that it is proportionate to the text it purports to elucidate. He outlines the principle in section III of the *Prólogo* (I: 4D–6A), where a series of metaphors convey the fundamental reciprocity between *comento* and *comentado*. Having spent years ploughing through nearly every Latin and vernacular commentary available, Faria e Sousa concluded that if some authors were to publish the contents of their exegesis independently, ‘sin arrimarlo a los comentados’ (I: 4E), no one would read them. How wretched it is, he opines, to exploit a writer in order to make space for oneself (‘hazerse lugar con el comentado’); the

commentator's task should be the opposite, to open up a greater space for the original author. The spatial trope then modulates into the metaphor of the peel or husk of a fruit, cast aside to reach the nourishment within. The true relationship between text and commentary is like the fruit whose outer layer is equally tasty: 'digo, pues, que el comento no ha de ser cascarón del comentado sino que se ha de hazer tan uno aquel con este que este no se puede desear sin aquel' (I: 5B).³⁸ Contrast this mutual rapport with Herrera's relationship with Garcilaso, or with Hernán Núñez's attitude towards Juan de Mena. In both instances, commentator and canonized poet are separated by only fifty years, but in the first case they are set apart by what one commentator has termed a Bloomian anxiety of influence and in the second by strategies of cultural and political distancing that mark the boundaries between Humanism and *barbarie*.³⁹

Regardless of the harmony between poem and commentary the textual space imagined by Faria e Sousa is no utopia. His prologue begins by recounting his twenty-five year struggle to complete his task, assaulted by personal cares and back-biting critics; antagonism, polemic and defensiveness return time and again in the volumes that follow. One might say that he is merely adopting the conventional posture of Humanist commentators (notoriously cantankerous, their self identity demanded barbarians).⁴⁰ However conventional, this discourse creates a particular set of *personae*: the misunderstood and misappropriated poet, judged according to misunderstood or misapplied aesthetic norms, and the heroic commentator whose dual task is to explain how the poem fits into the larger literary world and to reclaim its uniqueness.

IV Adamastor and the Christian Empire

To carve out a Portuguese political and cultural identity within the Habsburg imperial network, Faria e Sousa exploits the allegorical potential of Camões' representation of Vasco da Gama's encounter with Islam.⁴¹ The key scene occurs in canto V, stanzas 37–60, with the mythological giant Adamastor, a representation of the Cape of Good Hope, who prophesies future disasters

38 Other metaphors nuance the point: the best commentary adds 'nuevas alas' to a work, and together they become a bird that flies further than ever before (I: 5D); Camões has provided the music, Faria e Sousa the instrument (I: 4C).

39 For Herrera, see Ignacio Navarrete, 'Decentering Garcilaso: Herrera's Attack on the Canon', *PMLA*, 106 (1991), 21–33; for Hernán Núñez, see *Glosa a las 'Trezientas'*, ed. Weiss & Cortijo Ocaña, 112, 125, 129–30, 137–45.

40 See Luis Gil Fernández, *Panorama social del humanismo español* (Madrid: Alhambra, 1981), 266–72. For polemics embedded in Italian Dante commentaries, see Deborah Parker, *Commentary and Ideology: Dante in the Renaissance* (Durham, NC: Duke U. P., 1993).

41 For his allegorical method, see Edward Glaser, 'Manuel de Faria e Sousa and the Mythology of *Os Lusíadas*', in his *Portuguese Studies* (Paris: FCG, 1976), 135–57.

for the Portuguese if they dare round the Cape and navigate eastwards. The episode's second section is introduced by da Gama's question 'Quem és tu?' ('Who are you?'), which triggers the giant's tragic story of unrequited love, shame and metamorphosis.

Camões' giant is clearly inspired by *Metamorphoses* (XIII.738–897) but he goes beyond Ovid in his inventive mythogenesis.⁴² He himself alludes to his poetic rivalry when, in the previous episode, he describes an African native encountered inland as 'selvagem mais que o bruto Polifemo' ('more savage than the brute Polyphemos') (V.28.4). The difference is that whereas Adamastor is transformed into a promontory after being rejected by Thetis, Ovid's Polyphemos does not undergo metamorphosis; rather, he hurls a huge rock at Acis, Galatea's beloved, who is transformed into a river fountain. Faria e Sousa praises Camões' inventiveness throughout the seventy-one columns of commentary (I: v, 511D–582B). He scrutinizes every line seeking out possible verbal parallels with Virgil, Homer, Ovid and Lucan. He concludes that by comparing ancient and modern *fábulas*

[Camões] passou aqui a fazer esta novíssima com tanto acierto, en lo proporcionado, en lo magestuoso, en lo dispuesto, i *en lo texido con la antigüedad*, i en todo que realmente es más que admirable; i se haze digna de mayor aplauso que todas las antiguas.

(I: v, 539E; emphasis added)

Camões' dialogue with epic literary tradition weaves together voices past and present, and enables him to surpass the poetic frontiers of Antiquity and (implicitly) the imperial boundaries of Rome itself.⁴³ As the poet outdoes his

42 This famous episode has sparked much critical interest, including: David Quint, 'The Epic Curse and Camões' Adamastor', in his *Epic and Empire: Politics and Generic Form from Virgil to Milton* (Princeton: Princeton U. P.), 99–130, for whom the giant is an African, rebellious voice who opposes imperialism and, yet, confirms its control over the savaged, colonized peoples; Thomas Earle, 'The Two Adamastores: Diversity and Complexity in Camões's *Lusiads*', in *Renaissance Now!: The Value of the Renaissance Past in Contemporary Culture*, ed. Brendan Dooley (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2014), 103–18, sees the episode as a complex literary utterance, as both an 'adverse' rewriting of the opening stanzas of the poem and a celebration of Portuguese expansion. Josiah Blackmore, *Moorings: Portuguese Expansion and the Writing of Africa* (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 2009), 105–42 argues that Adamastor connotes European visions of African masculinity and melancholy. For Adamastor as a tragic figure, see: Cleonice Berardinelli, 'Uma leitura do Adamastor', in her *Estudos camonianos* (Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Educação e Cultura, 1973), 33–40 and Aníbal Pinto de Castro, 'O episódio do Adamastor: seu lugar e significação na estrutura d'Os *Lusiadas*', in *Páginas de um Honesto Estudo Camoniano* (Coimbra: Centro Interuniversitário de Estudos Camonianos, 2007), 175–90.

43 See also Bass, quoting Herrera's imperialist trope in his *Anotaciones* on Garcilaso: he encourages fellow poets to 'navegar el anchísimo Océano i descubrir los tesoros de que estuvieron agenos nuestros padres' ('Poética, imperio y la idea de España', 197).

predecessors, so he, Faria e Sousa, moves beyond his forebears, and demonstrates his own exegetical superiority, founded on the same aesthetic qualities of proportion, majestic scope, and classical erudition.

When, nearly thirty columns later, he reaches the very end of his epic *expositio*, he looks back on his achievements, making explicit the bond that ties him to his pioneering poet:

El Poeta no introduxo alguna [figura] sin gran misterio, i que yo no le rastreo otro más adecuado con su modo de inventar, aludir, i proceder en este *profundo piélago de poesía, de que yo soy el Tisis, el Gama, i el Colón*: i que algún segundo en este *descubrimiento* mío descubra más alguna tierra, no dudo que se honrará: pero no puede quitarme *la gloria de lo descubierto*. (I: v, 565AB; emphasis added)

The deliberate appropriation of the imperial trope of ‘discovery’ of new worlds links Camões’ inventiveness to the pioneering endeavour of the Portuguese seamen *and* to his own trailblazing interpretation.

Faria e Sousa proposes an allegorical interpretation that answers da Gama’s question ‘Who are you?’ and inscribes the historical enmity between Christianity and Islam within an imperialist context, integrating both the mythical fall of Spain and the process of Reconquest into a single historical continuum. In *The Lusiads*, the monster Adamastor ‘no representa aquí otro personaje que a Mahoma, i a toda su ascendencia hasta Ismael, i decendias hasta oy, i gentes que le siguen en sus preceptos’ (I: v, 540D). Faria e Sousa begins to construct his allegory from the moment Camões mentions the word ‘monstro’ (stanza 39). As he explains:

Monstruo es aquello que en su forma de su género es desproporcionada, irregular o sin medida; [...] este aquí era monstruo en mala forma, i en desproporción [...] i en prometer sucessos monstruosos, con una monstruosa pasión vengativa. (I: v, 535E)

Adamastor’s physical deformity, size, frenzied passions and ultimate transformation are based on the stereotypical representation of the Prophet Muhammad’s alleged lust and greed and his vanity. This representation has a long tradition in medieval and Early Modern Christian polemical writings, which construct an anti-hagiographical version of the Prophet’s life. Faria e Sousa alludes to a plurality of authorities for his account of the Prophet: ‘la vida de Mahoma en los autores que la escriven’ (I: v, 563D). Although he draws in passing on several sources, such as Dante’s *Divine Comedy* or Covarrubias’ *Tesoro de la lengua castellana*, he cites only two main authorities: Luis del Mármol Carvajal (*Descripción general de África, sus guerras y vicisitudes, desde la*

fundación del mahometismo hasta el año 1571), and Johannes Cuspius (De *Turcorum origine, religione, ac immanissima eorum in Christianos tyrannide*).⁴⁴ Both buttress Faria e Sousa's allegorical reading of the Prophet's large-limbed body and fearsome voice (I: v, 541CD), which signify the reach and hellish origins of Islam. The commentator's originality lies not in his caricature of the Prophet, but in adapting inherited stereotypes to produce an allegory that places Portugal at the vanguard of an epic struggle between Islam and Christendom.

Faria e Sousa compares the giant's size to the influence of Islam across the world:

La gente Mahometana [...] posee (i posseía más entonces) grandísimos miembros de todas las partes del mundo a la sazón descubiertas, no solo en toda la África i en las dos Asias, sino que en Europa posseyeron mucho; i aun en este tiempo acabaron de perder la possession del Reyno de Granada, i en el de Felipe Tercero la de habitarle. (I: v, 541C).

When Faria e Sousa refers to 'este tiempo' he means, of course, the time when the poem was set (1498–1499), shortly after the fall of Nasrid Granada. This conquest initiates a process that would culminate in the expulsion of the *moriscos* under Philip III (1609–1614). It is in the nature of this allegorization to ignore such obvious but awkward niceties as the distinction between Muslim and converted Muslim. These complexities did not trouble the apologists of expulsion, who occasionally argued that the *moriscos* were the fifth column of an expanding Ottoman empire.⁴⁵ The fear is not explicit in Faria e Sousa's allegory, but it does underpin the ideologically charged historical trajectory he draws of the expansion and contraction of Muslim influence in Asia, Africa and Europe.

Puzzling over the allegorical meaning of the giant's epithet 'tormentorio' (st. 50), he argues that it refers to its literal storms ('tormentos') and to Muhammad as the Devil's representative, a 'tormento para los varones

44 See Luis del Mármol Carvajal, *Descripción general de África, sus guerras y vicisitudes, desde la fundación del mahometismo hasta el año 1571*, 11 vols (Granada/Málaga, 1573–99); and Johannes Cuspius, *De Turcorum origine, religione, ac immanissima eorum in Christianos tyrannide* (Antwerp, 1541). On Luis del Mármol Carvajal, see Javier Castillo's entry in *Christian Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*, VI: *Western Europe (1500–1600)*, ed. David Thomas & John Chesworth *et al.* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 282–93.

45 Roger Boase, 'The Morisco Expulsion and Diaspora: An Example of Racial and Religious Intolerance', in *Cultures in Contact in Medieval Spain: Historical and Literary Essays Presented to L. P. Harvey*, ed. David Hook & Barry Taylor (London: King's College Medieval Studies, 1990), 9–28; for *moriscos* as alleged security risk, see p. 15. Boase's synopsis of anti-*morisco* stereotypes deployed by the advocates of expulsion includes many of those found in Faria e Sousa's caricature of Islam: e.g. Muslim lust, treachery, expansion, the Qur'an as anti-Gospel, the Prophet as *filius terrae*, the *moriscos* as 'hijos de la tierra' (for Muhammad as 'hijo de la tierra' = 'ambición de tierra', see cols. 544E–545B).

apostólicos' (I: v, 544A). However, he then reveals the spiritual mystery behind the change in the Cape's name to 'Buena Esperança', which foreshadows the expansion of '*la verdadera ley, por medio de nuestra navegación*' (I: v, 544B; emphasis added). Adamastor claims that the four ancient cosmographers, Ptolemy, Pomponius Mela, Strabo and Pliny, had never identified the Cape before the arrival of the Portuguese. Faria e Sousa allegorizes these as the four Christian Principalities of Italy, Germany, France and Spain, who preferred to slit each others' throats ('se degüellan a sí mismos') rather than go in warlike pursuit of '*esta barbaridad*': unlike the kingdom of Portugal, '*que la va buscando, i la descubre, i la castiga*' (I: v, 544C). Here, Faria e Sousa conflates Portuguese territorial discovery with their 'discovery', or laying bare, of the diabolical realities of the Muslim faith, a historical coupling that is revealed only by the efforts of the commentator himself. He hammers home Portugal's bold leadership of this enterprise in the final gloss on stanza 50:

Le ofende mucho la osadía portuguesa, porque a nadie ha ella ofendido tanto como a Mahoma i a su gente hasta agora en Europa i en la propia África su vezina, i agora passa a ofenderle en la Asia, adonde solamente con moros ha tenido guerra. (I: v, 544E)

Another instance of Portuguese leadership of Christian Europe occurs when Faria e Sousa mentions the Ottoman campaigns in Hungary and Austria, when '*el gran Turco*' gathered a massive army of 600,000 men '*con intento de conquistar toda la Christiandad*', only to be beaten back by the forces of Charles V (I: v, 547A). Strategically, the commentator avoids too much historical detail: '*dexo aparte otras acciones así navales como terrestres con que esta barbaridad atendió solamente a anegar la sacrosanta barca de nuestro apostólico Neptuno en lo antiguo i en lo moderno*' (I: v, 547B). It is in his interests to do so, because he wishes to trace the more profound Providential narrative constituted by the onward voyage of the '*barca de la Iglesia Católica, guiada de S. Pedro*'. Portugal is the historical embodiment of this apostolic mission, whose goal (as King Manuel conceived it) was to evangelize through priestly '*amonestaciones*' and negotiation, before resorting to '*el rigor de las armas*' (I: v, 547C):

No dexa de ser considerable i parecer misterioso que el piloto desta flota del Gama se llamase Pedro (como consta de Damián de Goes en la crónica deste Rey) i aun de Alenquer, que en Portugués vale '*querer ir más allá*', como S. Pedro quiso en passar desde el ocaso al oriente.

Faria e Sousa also addresses the specific threat posed by Islam to the Iberian Peninsula. As he explains:

España goza singular hermosura de religión en el mar del baptismo, que era lo que con mayor ancia [*sic*] desseava contaminar Mahoma, buscando lo más puro para emplear su veneno. I también puede aludir a los muchos años que Mahoma posseyó España, teniendo anegado la barca de San Pedro en casi toda ella, desde que la perdió el rey don Rodrigo, hasta que las armas católicas lo sacudieron della, i le hizieron retirar a sus barbarismas tierras. (I: v, 558A)

The sea nymph Thetis, the object of Adamastor's sexual desire who torments him after his metamorphosis with her tantalizing presence, becomes the allegorical redeeming waters of Baptism, offering divine protection to the Peninsula ('porque España es casi ceñida de Tetis, digo del mar' [I: v, 558A]), while simultaneously presenting herself to the coveting eyes of Muslims. He even links Thetis' rejection of Adamastor and his shameful escape to the Reconquest, which led up to the fall of Granada at the hands of the armies of the 'Reyes Católicos' (I: v, 558AB).

Adamastor's frustrated desire is thus an allegory of the eventual failure of Islam, whose expansion is impelled by greed and lust, epitomized by the Prophet's illicit love for a married woman (and by the practice of polygamy amongst his followers [I: v, 545CD]) and his quest for riches. For Faria e Sousa, the giant's transformation into a promontory was divine punishment, a geographical endpoint that would symbolize the eventual demise of Islam in Africa and the East.⁴⁶ While he recognizes the common past of Spain and Portugal in this struggle, for him it is the destiny of Portugal to continue the labours of the Catholic Monarchs.

The allegorical explanation seems to gain its own life, and towards the end of this section of the commentary Faria e Sousa reins in Christian allegory and refocuses attention on *The Lusiads'* prestigious literary tradition. Although the Prophet's epilepsy attacks, which momentarily affected the appearance of his face, and the fact that he dyed his hair are integral to his anti-hagiographical reading of Muhammad's biography, they are also part of his intertextual dialogue with Ovid. Faria e Sousa concludes that 'Mahoma en vida, i en muerte, *todo fue un metamorfoseos*' (II: 559C, emphasis added). Thus, his long allegorical exegesis illustrates another dimension of that 'comentar ajustado' which never departs from 'la Idea del Poeta'. In lifting the veil of the allegory, Faria e Sousa reveals the twin aims of that 'Idea', and brings together two important strands in Camões' epic: Portuguese leadership in the fight against Islam and the poet's leadership in classical *imitatio*.

46 Pointing out the discrepancy between Mármol's depiction of Muhammad's 'color encendido' and Adamastor's pallid complexion, Faria e Sousa explains that this does not undermine the equation Muhammad/Adamastor, since Camões 'lo pinta difunto' (I: v, 541C).

V Imaginary Boundaries

Metamorphosis. If we were to choose one word to render the ideological crux of this commentary, it would be this. On the one hand, there is evident admiration for the poet's ability to transform our perceptions and understanding of the world. In reading *The Lusiads*, we apprehend it not as a static, fixed entity, but as a world in movement, in a constant state of becoming, and open to discovery. This transformation is achieved by rhetorical alchemy; our perceptions and understanding are reshaped by the work done on and through language, which is also, necessarily, transformed in the process.⁴⁷ On the other hand, however, the commentator inherits an exegetical legacy that requires him to explain, fix, define and order; this legacy, coupled with a Renaissance aesthetics of proportion and decorum, means that the commentator's task (as Faria e Sousa sees it) is to set exegetical limits, to avoid 'licentious' readings, and to identify 'un modo de comentar ajustado'. Even so, as the Adamastor episode shows, these limits are not limitations: there is still room for the copious and creative display of knowledge without transgressing the poem's conceptual boundaries. The sheer scope of Faria e Sousa's project invites us to infer that he himself wished to participate in *The Lusiads'* transformative poetics by metamorphosing erudition and its scholarly conventions and methods into a creative act, blurring the distinction between philosophical *poeta* (the originator of ideas) and exegete (their mediator). They stand on different points of a creative axis that, as we suggest, extends to the reading public itself, which is also engaged in its own mode of generative transformation.

Metamorphosis, the inevitable condition of the secular world, is not of course inherently positive; as Faria e Sousa's anxious scorn for Muhammad shows, its semantic range includes deviation, degeneracy, corruption, and deceit. As in the world, so in poetry. Faria e Sousa needs a poetic Muhammad to mark the limit beyond which transformative poetics degenerates into the corruption of language and thought. And that figure is ready to hand in Góngora. As Bass observes, Faria e Sousa's commentary is partly a reaction to the contemporary move to canonize Góngora after his death in 1627, when López de Vicuña published *Obras en verso del Homero español*.⁴⁸ She points out that Faria e Sousa inserted most revisions to earlier drafts after 1621, and that the printed version of 1639 included many more sustained attacks on Góngora's difficult poetic style. In one substantial excursus in canto III, he anathematizes the Cordoban poet as 'el

47 Glaser comments on Faria e Sousa's own 'transformative poetics', which, putting metamorphosis into action, transforms everyday objects so as to highlight the gap between appearance and reality and 'the instability of human endeavors' (Glaser, 'Introduction', in *The 'Fortuna' of Manuel de Faria e Sousa*, 120).

48 Bass, 'Poética, imperio y la idea de España', 185–87.

Mahoma de la poesía, que, predicando que venía a mejorarla en España, la inficionó con errores' (I: iii, 135B).⁴⁹

It is vital to place this slur in context. Not only is it characteristic of Faria e Sousa's penchant for vitriolic satire, it is also highly qualified. The despective comparison with the Prophet is primarily designed to satirize the ignorance and foolishness of Góngora's followers; just as the number of Muslims does not prove the validity of Muhammad's beliefs and practices, so the Cordoban poet's quality cannot be measured by his ill-informed popularity: 'el seguir muchos una cosa no la califica, aunque la esfuerce' (I: iii, 135A). Faria e Sousa goes on to praise Góngora's early work (written 'antes de aquel capricho'), particularly his 'burlas', and he even recognizes that the *Polifemo* and the *Soledades* contain some impressive passages, worthy of a 'poeta de estima'. 'Yo venero a don Luis', he declares, with tongue planted firmly in cheek.⁵⁰ Yet Góngora falls short of greatness for one simple but profound reason. Unlike Camões, Virgil and Homer, the longer works on which his reputation rests lack design and direction. *Polifemo*, the *Soledades*, and his plays are flawed by the poet's 'luxuria de ingenio' and his 'falta de fuerças para concluir las obras' (135D). His creative imagination was driven by a desire for excess, which trapped and constrained him ('le atava i impedía'), rendering him incapable of imposing structure and order upon the products of his wit: 'Las *Soledades*, *Panegírico* i dos comedias tuvieron principios pero no tuvieron fin ni aun medio, i el *Polifemo* acabado tiene poquísima traça'. Góngora may be compared to Martial or Statius, perhaps; but he is no 'Spanish Homer'. It could not be

49 See Bass, 'Poética, imperio y la idea de España', 198. Disease is a common metaphor in the polemics over Góngora, exemplified most explicitly in Juan de Jáuregui's *Antídoto contra la pestilente poesía de las 'Soledades', aplicado a su autor para defenderle de sí mismo* (1614). See *Antídoto sobre la pestilente poesía de las 'Soledades' por Juan de Jáuregui*, ed., con intro., de José Manuel Rico García (Sevilla: Univ. de Sevilla, 2002). The bibliography is substantial; for the main documents, see Robert Jammes, 'Apéndice II: la polémica de las *Soledades* de Luis de Góngora', in his edition (Madrid: Castalia, 1994), 607–719. For recent approaches, with bibliographical orientation, see: Joaquín Roses Lozano, *Góngora: 'Soledades' habitadas* (Málaga: Univ. de Málaga, 2007), 133–243; Melchora Romanos, 'Góngora atacado, defendido y comentado: manuscritos e impresos de la polémica gongorina y comentarios a su obra', in *Góngora, la estrella inextinguible: magnitud estética y universo contemporáneo: Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid, del 30 de mayo al 19 de agosto de 2012, Sala Vimecorsa y Centro de Arte Pepe Espaliú, Córdoba, del 12 de septiembre al 11 de noviembre de 2012*, dir. Joaquín Roses Lozano (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal de Acción Cultural, 2012), 159–69.

50 For Faria e Sousa's own attempts at *culturismo* and his attitudes towards Góngora, see Glaser, 'Introduction', in *The 'Fortuna' of Manuel de Faria e Sousa*, 88–90, and 105–06, where he makes the salutary observation: 'Contrary to what is generally assumed, Faria e Sousa was drawn to the Cordoban as soon as he began to write with an eye on publication. [...] Invariably he drew a sharp line between the innovations of the inspired poet and the rhetorical *tours de force* on which less gifted followers pinned their hopes for success'. For the Portuguese poet's satirical and ironic style, see pp. 106–22.

otherwise, because poetry is ‘sugeta a leyes, a juyzio, a cordura, a inteligencia, a suavidad, y a cláusulas líquidas’ (135A). He lacks ‘espíritu poético científico, executado en obras artificiosas i profundas, con principio, medio, i fin’ (136A). Góngora’s disordered poetic appetite produces works that are shapeless (as ‘disforme’ as Muhammad) and somehow unmanly in their lack of resolution.⁵¹ The hint that the Cordoban poet lacked the potency to complete a work echoes an earlier attack, which also merges sexual and religious disorder. In the *Prólogo* (I: 67–68), Faria e Sousa describes Góngora’s followers as ‘esta nueva seta’, akin to English Protestants, and he likens their leader to a cuckold who pimps his wife. Why, he asks rhetorically, does Góngora so often repeat the word ‘cuerno’? ‘Tan dulce armonía es la del cuerno? Si don Luis fuera casado i amigo de ganar con su muger, no pudiera mostrarse tan amigo dellos’ (I: 67DE).⁵²

The allegorization of the Adamastor episode, with its account of the pestilential spread of Islam colonizing the world with licentiousness and error, helps us flesh out these criticisms; but it also throws into relief an underlying contradiction. The Gongorine imagination is constantly on the move, provoking a surplus of meaning that cannot be predicted or contained by poetic law or structure.⁵³ Both Faria e Sousa’s commentary and the general lineaments of the polemic over the Cordoban poet encourage us to think of a binary opposition between the transparent proportion of Camões and Góngora’s opaque and convoluted profusion. The contrast is obvious in the passage from the prologue discussed above, which moves seamlessly from ridicule of Góngora’s luxuriant disorder to admiration for Garcilaso’s ‘claridad suave i fácil, [...] limpieza, tersura i elegancia’ (63A; the commentator is quoting ‘el docto Herrera’). By nature, polemics obscure continuities between two sides in a debate; in reality, both theory and practice offered middle ground. Besides Faria e Sousa’s own creative engagement with *culteranismo*, there is also the example of

51 Faria e Sousa’s views stand in stark contrast to Góngora’s epic qualities identified by his first commentators and fully explored by Mercedes Blanco, *Góngora heroico: ‘Las Soledades’ y la tradición épica* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2012).

52 To Muslims and Protestants one must also add the Jew as a Catholic trope for poetic incapacity. Faria e Sousa opens his *Juizio* by comparing the poetically ignorant and presumptuous to a ‘sinagoga de sujetos que dicen de sí [...] que en los preceptos poéticos son peritísimos’ (I: 59A). For Góngora as ‘Jew’, see the sonnet by that famous anti-semite Quevedo, ‘Yo te untaré mis versos con tocino, / porque no me los muerdas, Gongorilla’. The Jew (often sexualized) as trope for poetic chaos had a long history; for its fifteenth-century Spanish version, see David Nirenberg, ‘Figures of Thought and Figures of Flesh: “Jews” and “Judaism” in Late-Medieval Spanish Poetry and Politics’, *Speculum*, 81 (2006), 398–426; abbreviated version in his *Anti-Judaism: The History of a Way of Thinking* (London: Head of Zeus, 2013), 229–37.

53 See the articles by Marsha S. Collins & Isabel Torres and by Lindsay Kerr & Bill Richardson in this volume.

Juan de Jáuregui, whose treatise *Discurso poético* and accompanying poem *Orfeo* (1624) were composed in response to Góngora's *Polifemo*. As Melchora Romanos puts it, Jáuregui's theoretical treatise and poetic practice created 'una poética equidistante [...] un delicado equilibrio' between the twin poles of classicism and Baroque.⁵⁴ And, however much he may have wished to conceal the fact, Faria e Sousa's commentary also acknowledges that Camões and Góngora are conjoined in one fundamental respect.

The prefatory *Juizio* begins with an attempt to establish *The Lusiads* as the perfect epic (I: 59–72). The epic paradigm has seven features, a number that is not empirically chosen, of course, but symbolic of perfection. And the seventh feature is metamorphosis, or as Faria e Sousa explains, the poet's uncanny capacity to transform himself into his characters, 'hablando conforme a la calidad de cada uno i de las materias' (I: 71D). This also entails the ability to modulate seamlessly from one emotional extreme to another, to transform the mood from 'lo colérico' and 'bravosidad' to 'terneras' and 'los más altos i suaves pensamientos', and then 'bolviéndose a transformar, para bolver a lo bélico' (I: 72A). Camões, he concludes,

[...] fue el Proteo de los poetas, o el Júpiter, que es mejor, mudándose en quantas figuras quiso, con tanta propiedad que en la que toma de nuevo no se halla vestigio de quantas avía tomado antes. (I: 72BC)

We thus see Camões and Góngora on two ends of a creative continuum, linked by various figures of change and transformation: the Devil, Muhammad, Proteus and Jupiter. What separates the transformative capacities, or *ingenio*, of each poet are measure, decorum, and design—understood as both pattern and purpose. Góngora and his foolish sect may have created an empire of error, but Camões, as revealed by Faria e Sousa, will remind Europe of its imperial heritage and destiny. Refuting the notion that the *The Lusiads*' pagan gods demeaned Christianity, he argued that the poet introduced 'deidades gentilicias a lo Christiano, haziéndolas representar la verdadera Deidad' (I: 72C). Camões' achievement in reconciling pagan and Christian is so unique ('raro') that his epic poem became 'el primero que en vulgar vio Europa lleno de la grandeza i magestad heroica más arrimado a Homero i a Virgilio' (I: 72D). By itself, this is not a remarkable claim; structurally, it nuances the eulogy of transformative poetics that immediately precedes it. *Imitatio* becomes reincarnation: 'Virgilio ya sabemos que no es otra cosa sino Homero, pues Camões otra cosa no viene a ser sino Virgilio' (I: 72D). Faria e Sousa goes on to describe a reproductive chain whereby Camões replicates his predecessor in and for the new imperial age: 'La *Lusiada* otra *Eneyda* es'

54 Romanos, 'Góngora atacado, defendido y comentado', 165–66.

(I: 73C). This chain itself cannot be continued; it ends with Camões. Whereas Virgil's successors realized that they could not reproduce Virgil's transformation of Homeric verse into Latin (made possible 'en virtud de su ingenio admirable'), modern poets foolishly strive to reproduce Virgil simply by imitating Camões, out of mere 'frialdad i cobardía'. The endeavour is futile because the Portuguese himself has gone beyond the Roman and, in some respects, surpassed him (I: 73E).⁵⁵ Moreover, *The Lusiads* subsumes, directly and indirectly through the *Aeneid*, a whole world of heroic poets, from Hesiod to Petrarch: 'Camões imitó claramente a todos estos i quantos se verán en la tabla [...] destilándolos a todos de manera que sus obras son la verdadera quinta essencia de quantas ay deste género' (I: 74D). *The Lusiads*' 'grandeza poética' derives therefore from one singular fact:

Nos viene a parecer este poema lo que muchas vezes vemos, que es de joyas de oro viejas hundidas sacar otra nueva i más hermosa, porque assí parece que se hundieron todas las joyas viejas i ricas de la poesía y que en esta resucitaron gloriosamente. (I: 74E)

Faria e Sousa's treatment of *imitatio* is part of a dialectic interplay between singularity and similarity, the individual and the collective, manifesting itself throughout the commentary in both literary and political domains. Camões possessed the unique capacity to absorb, digest, distil, recast and revivify. This transformative capacity makes him unique and at the same time defines a collective culture. Having emphasized that the literary *translatio* ends with the inimitable singularity of *The Lusiads*, the commentator must avoid the impression that the poem is an end in itself. After all, it is through his efforts that the meaning of the poem flows (as he put it) 'líquidamente' from the poem to the reader; the poem's glory and fame is like a river that flows out and meets the sea, the mass of humanity. Though *The Lusiads* cannot be reproduced in literary terms, it can be reproduced socially. Thanks to Faria e Sousa's exegesis the poem will enter the 'seno y manos' of the public (a common metaphor): into the soul that is transformed by it, and into the hand that carries the book and also, symbolically, puts it into action.

Similarly, as the commentator promotes the Portuguese poet (and vicariously himself) as agent and conduit of a shared literary heritage, he compensates by reaffirming the poet's self-identity, lest it be diffused into the multiplicity of his sources. The *Juizio* culminates in Section XXXV, devoted to the idea that 'los grandes hombres siempre en sus obras se imitaron a sí propios, holgándose se repetir algunos pensamientos i versos enteros' (I: 94A). The entire section is imbued with the desire to identify

⁵⁵ See also I: 79AB, where Faria e Sousa returns to Spain's failure to emulate Camões' achievement.

and assert the irreducible singularity of the poet. The commentator reviews each canto identifying examples of self-imitation, before listing the poet's favourite words ('ardente', 'prestante', 'meta', etc) which, by no coincidence, are similar to those favoured by Virgil. Having listed these, he concludes: 'son las más dellas las propias de mi Poeta, que hasta en esso se le quiso parecer' (I: 98D). Camões is, and is not, Virgil.

As he brings the prologue to a close (cols. 99–100) Faria e Sousa reflects upon the broader cultural politics of Camões' achievement. He does this by returning to Torquato Tasso's sonnet, which, printed directly under the poet's portrait, heads a long sequence of *elogios*. For the commentator, Tasso's panegyric is fundamental:

[...] fue el hombre de mayor sobervia en estos estudios que tuvo el mundo
[...] de una nación avaríssima de alabanças con los estraños,
principalmente los españoles, i mucho más en estos estudios con la
jactancia de que España los aprendió a ella. (I: 99C–100A)

Faria e Sousa never hides his antipathy towards the cultural arrogance of the Italian intelligentsia; he has witnessed at first hand their condescension towards those who 'andan pidiendo aplausos de limosna'.⁵⁶ They recognize only two writers, one Portuguese and the other Spanish: Camões ('en lo heroico y lírico') and Lope de Vega ('en lo cómico'). But the former did not go cap in hand to Tasso begging for praise; rather, the Italian read his verse and found that it struck a chord: 'le hizo tal armonía que no pudo dexar de rendirse a su alabança'. The martial language—'sobervia', 'rendirse', 'darse por vencido'—leads one to expect that Camões displaced Tasso as 'el dueño moderno de la poesía heroica' (I: 100A). But this is not quite the case. What Tasso's seal of approval demonstrates is that 'este poema es raro'. *Raro*: the term embraces all the qualities Faria e Sousa identifies in *The Lusíads*. It is unique, strange, wonderful, inimitable. It is the product not of a nation, but of a rare mind. The conclusion to the prologue thus veers away from overt Hispanic triumphalism, and offers a characteristically ambivalent perspective on it. By contemplating the poet's achievements from outside the frontiers of the dual monarchy, from Iberia's historic cultural rival (or enemy nation, as Faria e Sousa puts it), he implicitly reminds readers of the rivalries and discord within, and of the struggle over the meaning and ownership of the poem. After all, the entire exegetical project is driven by the perceived incomprehension and lack of proper recognition within both Spain and Portugal. As these states expand and transmute, shifting boundaries at home and abroad, coalescing into the dual monarchy (by 1639 on the verge of fragmentation), they threaten to disfigure the cultural

56 See also his snide allusion to the 'escoria de lenguas de Italia' (I: 71A).

achievements of men like Camões or to produce the disfiguring poetics of Góngora. Faria e Sousa's caricature of Muhammad's empire may be read as a grotesque reimagining of the sprawling *disformidad* of the Hispanic domains, which displaces onto the Islamic Other its own shapelessness, both territorial and aesthetic. Faria e Sousa thus mirrors the ambivalence of Camões himself, who, in the conclusion to his epic introduces notes of disillusion and isolation to the celebration of Portuguese imperialism. The final lines of the prologue move even further, going beyond national boundaries to conjure up a vision of the world resonating in harmonious praise of Camões' poem: 'In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum [et in fines orbis terrae verba eorum]'. The quotation from Psalm 18 and the perspective 'desde los términos del mundo' (I: 100C) are more than just expressions of the jostling for cultural supremacy in a European empire of letters; by adopting a perspective that transcends political territories, Faria e Sousa suggests the more profound point: that creative minds are not coterminous with secular empires, and cannot be reduced to being simple extensions of the Absolutist State.*

* Disclosure Statement: No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.